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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00155 01 OF 03 121640Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00
	RPE-01	/038W					

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P 121625Z JAN 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5487
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00155

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: STILL STALLED
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00155 01 OF 03 121640Z

REFS: (A) KIGALI 0111, (B) KIGALI 0066

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. INSTALLATION OF RWANDA'S TRANSITION
INSTITUTIONS IS STILL STALLED. ALL OF THE ACTORS
HAVE DUG THEIR HEELSQR OF COMMUNIQUE
CONTINUES. DIPLOMATS CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR
RESOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR
DATE/CASE ID: 07 JUN 2006 200103014

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WAR OF COMMUNIQUE

3. THE MDR FACTION OPPOSED TO PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/11 ACCUSING HIM AND THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLITICAL IMPASSE. THE COMMUNIQUE CHARGED THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU REFUSES ANY ADVICE, INCLUDING THAT OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS, WHO PROPOSED COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS TO PARTY DIFFICULTIES (REF A).

4. THE PL FACTION LED BY JUSTIN MUGENZI HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE 1/11 AT WHICH MUGENZI CLAIMED HE AND CURRENT JUSTICE MINISTER ARE THE TRUE LEADERS OF THE PARTY. HE DENOUNCED PSD LEADBR FELICIEN NGANGO AND RPF VICE PRESIDENT PATRICK MAZIMHAKA FOR SAYING THE PL HAS A LEADERSHIP CRISIS. IN ADDITION, HE ACCUSED NGANGO, WHO IS PSD'S CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, OF SIDING WITH PL/LANDO SO HE WILL HAVE A WEAK (LANDO) RATHER THAN A STRONG (FORMER

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00155 01 OF 03 121640Z
JUSTICE MINISTER MBONAMPEKA) OPPONENT IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. MUGENZI ALSO TOLD THE PRESS THAT THE TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR AND OAU REPRESENTATIVE WERE MEDIATING BETWEEN THE TWO FACTIONS OF THE PL.

MEDIATION

5. TWO DAYS OF MEDIATION BETWEEN MUGENZI AND LANDO HAVE APPARENTLY RESULTED IN VIRTUALLY NO MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OSTENSIBLY BLOCKING INSTALLATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY: MULTIPLE LISTS OF PL DEPUTIES. THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE INCENTIVE FOR THE LANDO FACTION TO COMPROMISE. THE RPF TOLD AMBASSADOR, IN CONTRAST TO WHAT THEY TOLD DCM (REF B), THAT THEY WOULD INSIST ON THE PL/LANDO LIST REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE TWO FACTIONS DECIDED. TWAGIRAMUNGU, TOO, FIRMLY SUPPORTS THE LANDO LIST. THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET DIRECTOR, HOWEVER, BELIEVES THAT COMPROMISE IS THE ONLY SOLUTION, WHICH COULD MEAN THAT MUGENZI HAS A FALL-BACK POSITION. AT THE END OF THE RECONCILIATION MEETING 1/11, THE LANDO FACTION ISSUED A LETTER CALLING MUGENZI'S LIST FALSE, SAYING THAT MUGENZI HAD BEEN KICKED OUT OF PL AND SHOULD NOT EVEN BE CONSIDERED FOR A MINISTERIAL POST.

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6. MUGENZI TOLD AMBASSADOR 1/12 THAT LANDO HAD STAYED BUT A FEW MINUTES TO DISCUSS MODALITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS IN MONDAY'S MEETING AND WALKED OUT TUESDAY WHEN MUGENZI BEGAN TO REVIEW THE HISTORY OF THEIR DISCORD. MUGENZI BELIEVES THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE DISPUTE OVER DEPUTIES, THE CRITICAL ISSUE IS

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 00155 01 OF 03 121640Z
WHETHER THE PL SLOT FOR MINISTER OF JUSTICE GOES TO A TUTSI. WITH THE OTHER KEY SECURITY POSITIONS HELD BY RPF, TUTSIS WOULD THUS DOMINATE GOVERNMENT. THIS IS AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF ARUSHA, HE SAID. THE MRND MUST HAVE ITS PLACE; IT HAS STRONG SUPPORT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT ACCEPT A TRANSFER OF CONTROL FROM MRND TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

HEELS DUG IN

7. MEANWHILE, THE AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED A THREE-DAY

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00155 02 OF 03 121645Z
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	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00
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	RPE-01	/038W					

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P 121625Z JAN 94

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00155 02 OF 03 121645Z

ROUND OF HIGH-LEVEL TALKS WITHOUT PERCEIVING
SIGNIFICANT FORWARD MOVEMENT IN ACTORS' POSITION. UN
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE BOOH BOOH THOUGHT THE PROBLEM
LAY PRIMARILY WITH THE PRESIDENT WHO APPARENTLY
FEARED ATTACKS AGAINST HIS PERSON OR POSITION IF HE
DID NOT HAVE A BLOCKING VOTE IN LEGISLATURE OR
GOVERNMENT. THE PRESIDENT NEEDED SOME ASSURANCE HE
COULD PLAY HIS ROLE IN THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS
AND STILL BE AROUND FOR THE NEXT ELECTION. THE UN
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ALSO FELT PRIME MINISTER-
DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU WAS BEING UNWISE IN IGNORING
HIS POLITICAL BASE AND MIGHT SOLVE THE PROBLEM
THROUGH MORE FLEXIBILITY IN CHOOSING HIS GOVERNMENT.

8. AMBASSADOR'S VISITS TO CURRENT AND DESIGNATED
PRIME MINISTERS ELICITED STANDARD DEFENSE OF THEIR
LINE, TO WIT THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR
THE DIVISIONS IN THE PARTIES AND HENCE THE CURRENT
IMPASSE. HE TOLD BOTH THAT SUCH A SINGULAR
ACCUSATION MIGHT HAVE VALIDITY IN A ONE-PARTY STATE
BUT NOT IN A COUNTRY RULED BY COALITION GOVERNMENT,
WHERE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND BLAME HAD TO BE

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SHARED. AMBASSADOR TOLD PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE THAT TWO KEY POLITICAL FIGURES COULD BREAK THE DEADLOCK THROUGH COMPROMISE--THE PRESIDENT OR THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF. WHOEVER DID WOULD GET CREDIT FOR STATESMANSHIP THAT WOULD LEAD RWANDA TO A NEW DAY. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE WAS LOOKING AROUND FOR ALTERNATIVES THAT WOULD SATISFY THE PARTIES BUT ALSO FIT INTO HIS SCHEME FOR FORMULATING GOVERNMENT.

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 00155 02 OF 03 121645Z
SINCE HE WANTS PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT PEOPLE HE CAN WORK WITH, THAT EXCLUDES THE MAJOR LEADERS OF HIS OWN PARTY.

9. DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL CABINET RUHIGIRA, TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT THE PROBLEM WAS ONE OF PERSONAL AMBITION AND THE GLOBAL ALIGNMENT OF FORCES. IF THE PRESIDENT ACCEPTED THE GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATIVE LISTS BEING PROPOSED BY HIS OPPONENTS, RPF WOULD DOMINATE THROUGH ITS CONTROL OF KEY POSITIONS. - THIS WAS NO LONGER A SHARING OF POWER BUT A TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. RUHIGIRA DID NOT ACCEPT AMBASSADOR'S ARGUMENT THAT PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE AND PL WERE NOT SUBJECT TO PATRIOTIC FRONT CONTROL. RUHIGIRA DID, HOWEVER, SUGGEST POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKTHROUGH IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD ACCEPT A BROKERED PEACE WITHIN PL AND THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE WOULD NAME TO GOVERNMENT A PERSON FROM THE ALTERNATE FACTION OF HIS PARTY. IN LATER DISCUSSIONS, PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS ARGUED AGAINST ACCEPTING ANYTHING OTHER THAN PL LANDO LISTS. IN ANY CASE, LANDO WALKED OUT OF PL RECONCILIATION TALKS LEAVING THE LATEST INITIATIVE AT A DEADEND.

DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE CONTINUES.

10. FOLLOWING JOINT DEMARCHES WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE CURRENT PRIME MINISTER (REF A), BELGIAN AMBASSADOR LED HIS LIBYAN, TANZANIAN AND U.S. COLLEAGUES IN A JOINT DEMARCHE OF PATRIOTIC FRONT. CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE, JOINED BY JACQUES BIHOZAGARA

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 00155 02 OF 03 121645Z
AND PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, LAID OUT STANDARD RPF ANALYSIS
OF SITUATION, ASKED FOR DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON THE
PRESIDENT, AND NOTED PATRIOTIC FRONT CONCERN FOR
THEIR SECURITY, GIVEN EVIDENCE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS
ARMING PARTY MILITIA. KANYARENGWE, NONETHELESS,
PROTESTED PATRIOTIC FRONT DETERMINATION NOT TO GO
BACK TO WAR BUT TO PRESS FOR APPLICATION OF THE
ARUSHA ACCORD. SPEAKING FOR THE DIPLOMATIC GROUP,
BELGIAN AMBASSADOR URGED GOODWILL, PATIENCE AND
FLEXIBILITY. AMBASSADOR RAWSON SAID THAT HIS RECENT
ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS HAD REVEALED ALL POLITICAL

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PAGE 01 KIGALI 00155 03 OF 03 121646Z
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-----195CA9 121646Z /38

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CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 00155 03 OF 03 121646Z

LEADERS TO BE PATRIOTS WHO WANTED PEACE, BUT WHO WERE STUCK IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THEIR OWN ARGUMENTS. MORE DIALOGUE AND COMPROMISE WOULD LEAD TO A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

COMMENT

11. DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE IS HAVING NO OBVIOUS EFFECT ON THE VARIOUS ACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR PUTTING IN PLACE RWANDA'S TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. THERE IS NO SIGN THAT EITHER PL FACTION WILL GIVE GROUND ON THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR THE BLOCKAGE, MULTIPLE LISTS OF PL DEPUTIES. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE SHOWS NO SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS FROM THE OPPOSING WING OF HIS PARTY, EVEN IF HURDLE AT THE ASSEMBLY LEVEL COULD BE OVERCOME. NO RWANDAN HAS OFFERED ANY IDEAS ABOUT HOW TO ADDRESS AND OVERCOME THE REAL IMPASSE: THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE PRESIDENT TO SWEAR IN AN ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNMENT OVER WHICH HE DOES NOT HAVE VETO, AND THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE RPF TO ENTER AN ASSEMBLY OR GOVERNMENT WHICH THE PRESIDENT CAN CONTROL WITH BLOCKING VOTES. RAWSON

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